

International Review of Humanities Studies
www.irhs.ui.ac.id, e-ISSN: 2477-6866, p-ISSN: 2527-9416
Vol. 5, No.1, May 2020 (Special Issue), pp. 348-369

**DISPLAYED OBJECTS OF THE PAVILION OF INDONESIA
AT THE 1986-1992 WORLD EXPO
AS REPRESENTATION OF THE NEW ORDER'S IDEOLOGY**

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ABSTRACT

This research delves into the pavilions of Indonesia in World Expo, which is a world class cultural event involving so many countries all over the world as participants and it also attracts millions of people coming to the event of 3 to 6 months duration. Throughout the administration of Soeharto under the regime of New Order Indonesia had participated in six World Expo events out of ten events being organized; this shows how important the role of this event for Indonesia. However, from one Expo to another, it is curious that the objects chosen to be displayed in the pavilion are in fact a repetition so it raises question whether there is a certain concept being emphasized in each Expo event that the New Order regime would like to pass on by means of the displayed items continuously and whether such repetition can be considered as a form of framing and a confirmation of the symbol of power that the New Order want to show. This research is a cultural studies using qualitative approach that delve in data taken from a variety of documents such as photographs, reports compiled by committees, newspaper, magazines and internet. Data is scrutinized with semiotics analysis and theories of semiotics and framing in order to see how text is regarded as message by way of reading the created representation closely and also how the context of New Order government tried to 'package' it and to put the focus on the elements of objects of display in Indonesia's pavilion at the World Expo. This research results in findings that uncover (1) meaning and representation of the objects of display of the 1986, 1988, 1992 and (2) representation of objects of display in the pavilion of 1986, 1988 and 1992 World Expo as construction of the ideology of New Order

KEYWORDS: World Expo, objects of display, representation, New Order

INTRODUCTION

World Expo was originally meant to be an arena of showing off the supremacy of Britain's industry through the great success of its colonies. The participants of the first World Expo are the countries of British colonies, and what they exhibited was the natural and cultural wealth besides the achievements of the British influence and its industrial development. World Expo was then becoming the platform of the participants to publish the inventions that would bring change towards the advancement for the world economy, culture, science and technology that would benefit for the international relations. For now, World Expo is to improve awareness and find solution for universal problems; those problems to be solved are connected and

classified in themes where participants compete with each other to present their ideas, the best experiences of the theme being presented through the appearance of the pavilion.

Indonesia New Order regime's presence in the World Expo started at 1970 World Expo held in Osaka, Japan, which was a period of re-arranging order to save the nation. New Order attempted to create political orientation in the form of orderliness, stability, security and economic development. Development, in the New Order's term, is achievable when all conflicts of political and ideological nature can be avoided, and with such tight control since the regime was first in power in 1966, the New Order administration in the 1980s had achieved significant political and security stability. The economic sector was rapidly growing thanks to the very large foreign investment coming from the Western and Japanese capitalist countries by means of the monetary agencies such as IGGI, IMF and World Bank. The administration of Soeharto New Order was so open in working together with other countries and the active role played by Indonesia in the international organizations such as UN, ASEAN, FAO and Non-Block Movement had made it easy for Indonesia to get loans to be used to speed up the development brought about by the New Order regime.

The period between 1980s and 1990s was the peak of establishment of the New Order administration. In this period there was almost none of the important political event threatening the power of the New Order administration. There was no political power, opposition nor intellectual movement that was to threaten this regime. The economic situation of the New Order administration reached its greatest achievement in all sectors including agriculture, manufacture, export trading and transportation. However, the fact that the income from oil and gas has decreased has forced the government of Indonesia to set up strategic policies relating to the development and improvement in tourism sector. With such strategies the government started to work actively in its international communication to promote Indonesia by way of cultural mission to foreign countries and at international exhibitions, of which was the exhibition in World Expo. Talking about the international communication, the GBHN stated "international communication is intended to increase the positive image of Indonesia based on the achieved national development ... so it is expected to have positive impact on the improvement of development activities (www.bappenas.go.id).

Positive image of Indonesia in the eye of the international world became very significant for the New Order regime. This World Expo event, for the New Order regime, was a place and media that are considered proper to showcase the achievements of the Indonesian government. In the period of 1980-1990s Indonesia had attended a number of World Expos such as World Expo 1985 in Tsukuba, Japan, World Expo in Vancouver, Canada, World Expo 1988 in Brisbane, Australia, World Expo 1992 in Seville, Spain and World Expo 1993 in Taejeon, South Korea.

Based on the initial observation the objects that were often displayed are among others:

- (1) Toraja's ornament and house at World Expo 1985, 1988, and 1992;
- (2) Balinese banners at World Expo 1986, 1988, and 1992;
- (3) Placement of Balinese Umbrella at World Expo 1986, 1988, 1992, and 1993;
- (4) Garuda Wisnu Bali at World Expo 1986, 1988, 1992, and 1993;
- (5) Diorama and/or scaled model in the form of airplane model produced by IPTN at

World Expo 1985, 1986, 1992, and 1993 and model of satellite at World Expo 1986 and 1988. By repeatedly display the similar objects at each Expo, representation process took place – a

production of symbols and signs that unlocked particular message and meaning. This repetition also reveals how the image of Indonesia is conveyed through the mechanism of framing as such so that part of the reality becomes so clear whereas the other part is concealed.

This research started with an assumption that the form and arrangement of the pavilion would display the theme “Cultural Diversity and Results of Development” in World Expo under the New Order era relating to politics, economy, and Indonesian culture. The strategy was integrated in the REPELITA program (five year development plan), which means that the New Order’s ideology can be unlocked through the signing system that had created the representation of the pavilion.

Based on the identification of the research problem discussed above and also on the assumption, the problem of this research is how the power of the Soeharto’s New Order regime had influenced the representation of the displayed objects that were frequently found at the Indonesian pavilions of World Expos, and how the so-called representation could be perceived as a concept of the New Order’s ideological construction. Departing from the problem formulation, this research raises three research questions: How were the sign structure and code system perceived in the displayed objects of the Indonesian pavilion at World Expo? How myth and connotation worked at the level of sign system on the displayed objects of the Indonesian pavilion and how it created representation of Indonesia in the New Order era? How could the Indonesian existence at the World Expo be perceived as the construction of the ideology of the New Order?

This research is expected to look for findings that can disclose these subjects: The structure of sign and the code system on the displayed objects of the Indonesian Pavilion at World Expo; The process of myths and connotations that work at the level of sign system on the displayed objects of the Indonesian Pavilion and the process of the creation of representation of Indonesia in the New Order era; The construction of the New Order’s ideology developed in Indonesian Pavilion at World Expo.

The semiotics of visual objects using qualitative approach as it uses a method that explores and understands meanings by doing interviews, collecting specific data, performing inductive data analysis, and interpreting the meaning of the data. This research did not discuss the impact of media or the perception of the audience towards the message of media. The analysis was focused on the deconstruction of the meaning of text, which is based on the understanding that every text has many meanings, both consciously and unconsciously, by the users of the signs. To understand the imaging system that represent the New Order regime by way of the pavilion appearance means understanding the visual sign system set up based on certain regulation or code.

To focus the study perspective, it is necessary to limit the collected data of the research. The limitation of the scope of study is done on:

1) Text, in the form of displayed objects that often appeared in those three Expo events which are found in the document of primary data and written texts, in the form of instruction that regulated the objective of the participation, theme of pavilion, storyline, and exhibition zone obtained from the primary and secondary data document and also interviews;

2) Context, covering the situation of the New Order regime era, consisted of political, social-economic, cultural, technological and regulation, which was taken from the primary and

secondary data document and interviews.

The pavilion, as a form of media, had many visual aspects. One of the most eye-catching things of the entire exhibition in the pavilion was the displayed element. The visual aspects on the displayed objects as the elements that form the sign that can be considered in the reading and analysis were forms, materials, ornaments, colours, scale/sizes, and positions. To work on the research problem, the most appropriate analysis is the connotative semiotics analysis that is able to reveal various actions of representation. The dimension of analysis in this research is text and context.

To comprehend the meaning of the displayed objects, the first step of the analysis was to review the object in order to get the knowledge on the visual aspects involved in it. The visual aspect of every object in the form of visual appearance (image/picture), form, materials, decorations if any, colours, sizes and positions of the objects in the pavilion. The next phase is to reveal the representation of the displayed object using Barthes's semiotics. This concept of Barthes is widely known as order of signification, covering 'denotation' and 'connotation'. Barthes also sees other aspect from the signification, which is 'myth' that signifies a community. Myth is on the second level of the signification. So, the process of the signification of the displayed objects can be witnessed, not just that of the 'primary process', or denotative meaning but it continues to the process of interpretation that can be identified as 'secondary process', or connotative meaning to the myth which finally develop representation and ideology.

Analysis is not limited to the text structure. In order to break down the hidden meaning in a text, it is necessary to do context analysis. In this research, text and context analysis is intended to see what kind of representation that is created and how is the relation with the concept used by the New Order regime. Entman's framing theory is used to see how the Indonesian pavilion had framed reality and how the World Expo event had been signified and presented, and to describe the impact of the Indonesian pavilion as media in connection with its ability in introducing the important issues through the context of the situation of New Order and the regulation context.

THE PAVILION OF INDONESIA AT WORLD EXPO

In every event of World Expo, the organizer (BIE) offered different themes. The situation of the World Expo of 1970 to 1993 revealed that the technological development relating to humanity to make people better was the dominant themes, and in this international situation, every participating country appeared to build their pavilion with the suggested theme; especially the big, developed countries of which the emphasis is on their cutting edge technological sophistication. Indonesia interpreted these themes with the emphasis on the aspect of humanity, by introducing local culture that was conceived as the universal way of communicating that was acceptable for an international event.

Generally speaking, the interpretation of themes in the Indonesia pavilion at World Expo of 1986, 1988 and 1992 can be explained in 2 (two) groups, which are: (1) the depiction of Indonesia in the past that always had everything to do with the culture by way of art and culture-related displays in the form of historic artefacts, archaeological remains and the like; and (2) the depiction of the present covering the process of development and the achievement in technology

through the display of the development process, technological accomplishments, art and culture products that are still preserved and practiced, and also the display of the well preserved natural and environmental beauty of Indonesia.

To know the objects displayed in the pavilion, the first thing to do is to perform a close reading on the elements of the pavilion covering: the regulation, objective, theme, storyline and zone. The close reading of such elements has resulted in findings of the differences and similarities in those three Expos.

The objective of participation of Indonesia in each Expo is quite similar, which was a vehicle to showcase the achievements or accomplishments of the New Order regime, in the form of development activities and cultural wealth. This similar objective is translated into different themes in line with the grand theme proposed by the organizer, which was 'maritime culture' in Expo 1986, 'tourism' in Expo 1988 and 'three aspects of development' in Expo 1992.

Furthermore, from the theme that was quite focused it would then be translated in a storyline. The theme of 'maritime culture' at Expo 1986 was translated into a story about the past and present communication and transportation system. 'Tourism' at Expo 1988 was translated into narrative on cultural wealth for tourism, whereas the theme of the three aspects of development at Expo 1992 was translated into narrative on the activities of strategic industries and the products. Based on the storyline, exhibition zone was designed. This is to organize the placement of information and displayed items and the circulation of visitors in order to understand the content of the exhibition. Despite the differences in terms of zone division, those three Expos still shared the same principle, which was the theme with a one direction-circulation according to the zone sequence. From the results of the reading on all the elements to the displayed objects, the process of selection of objects is summarized as follows:

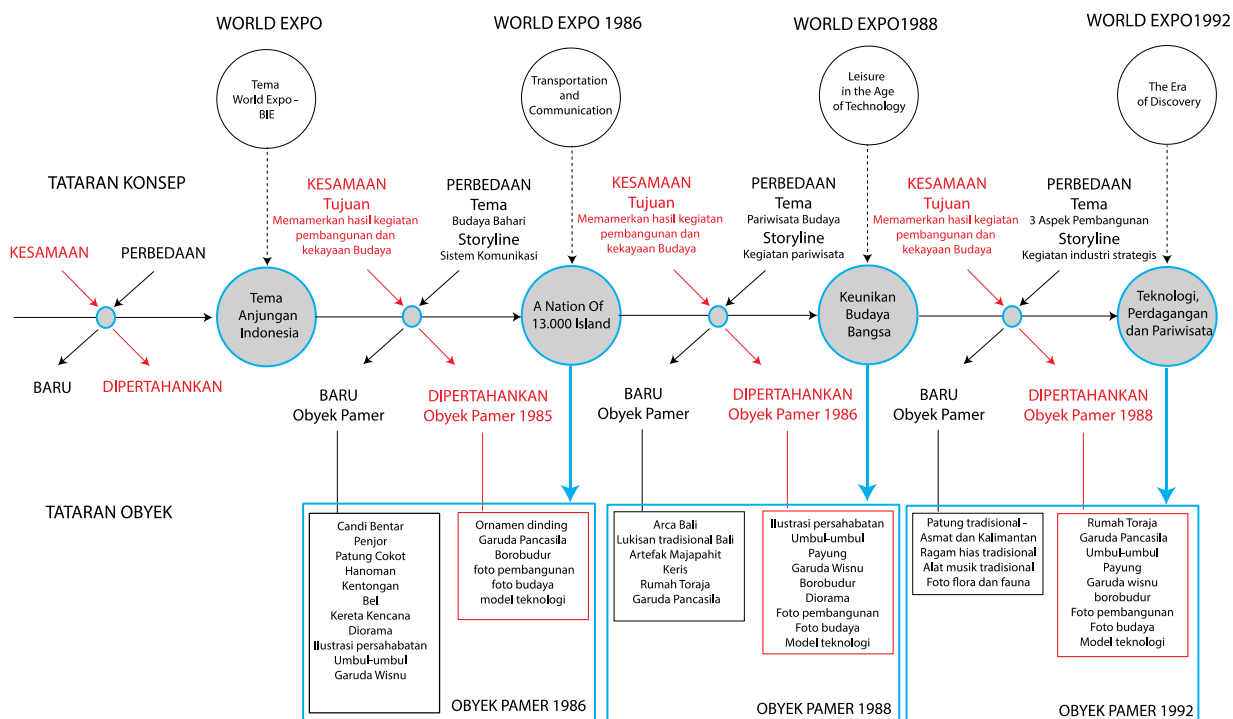


Figure 1:
 Displayed Objects at World Expo 1986-1992 (Tjahjaulan, 2016)

Based on the analysis, it can be concluded that shared objectives would influence the selection of the displayed objects, so as the difference in theme, storyline and display zone. The shared objective at every Expo was that it was used as a vehicle to show the results and achievements of the New Order administration, in the form of activities of development and cultural wealth that would help make the decision on which displayed objects that would be kept from one Expo to another, whereas the difference in theme, storyline and zone would have an impact on the decision on the new items to be displayed in line with the theme.

SIGNIFICATION OF THE DISPLAYED OBJECTS

The frequently presented objects at each Expo also had similarities in their placement in the pavilion. In their signification the displayed objects are obviously not to be read separately but the reading should include how the objects are positioned in the pavilion and their relation to other objects. The following is the signification process of the displayed objects, which were grouped according to their position in the pavilion.

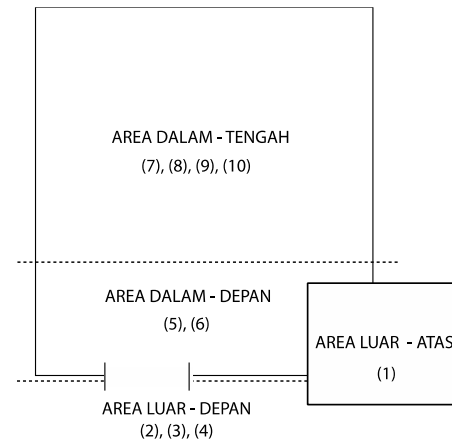

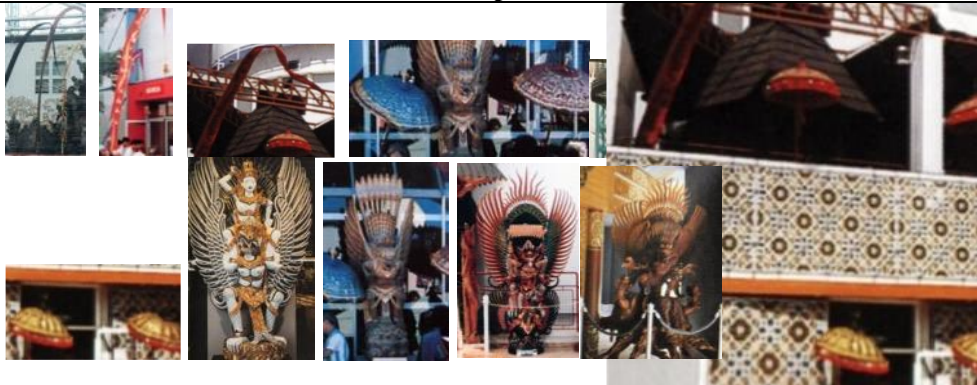



Figure 2:
 Map of the Displayed Objects Arrangement in the Pavilion (Tjahjawulan, 2016)

Group 1 – Upper Outer Area, which include: (1) Displayed Object of Toraja House.
 Group 2 – Front Outer Area, which include: (2) Banners; (3) Balinese Umbrella; and (4) Garuda Wisnu. Group 3 – Front Inner Area, which include: (5) Garuda Pancasila; and (6) Illustration of friendship. Group 4 – Middle Inner Area, which include: (7) Borobudur; (8) Diorama on culture; (9) Map of Indonesia and mosaic of the photos on culture; (10) mosaic of the photos on natural scenery (flora and fauna); and group 5 – Inner Central Area, (11) diorama on development; (12) mosaic of the photos on development; (13) models of technology – airplane, Palapa satellite, and engineering of design.


Table 1:
 Signification of Displayed Objects


Group 1 – Upper Outer Area: Toraja House	
Meaning	Description
Signifier	
Denotation	Modern building merged with traditional house of Indonesia referring to traditional house of the Toraja ethnic – Tongkonan – with ornament of pa manuk londong (rooster crows), pa bare allo (circle of sun and moon), pa tedong (buffalco head), pa ulu karua (human head), pa tanke lumu situru (stalk of moss plants) with natural wood colour and traditional colour of Toraja, which are red, yellow, black, and white and dominated by white colour on modern building.
Connotation	Toraja House as the centre of cosmology and wealth of tradition have high value and position, which are merged with the power of technology.
Myth	Indonesia is modern but still highly respect the cultural tradition of the ancestors.
Code	Semantics – Symbolic – Cultural
Representation	Harmonisation of traditional culture with modernity

Group 2 – Front Outer Area: Banners, Balinese Umbrellas, and Garuda Wisnu	
Meaning	Description
Signifier	
Denotation	<p>A piece of long fabric, which was upheld with the support of bamboo pole up high of 7-9 meters, painted with dragon and flame of fire decorated with golden prada hanging down on a triangle-shape hanger.</p> <p>Umbrella made of colourful fabric, ornament on the edge of the prada fabric or knitted wool yarn (ider-ider).</p> <p>The statue of Garuda and Wisnu god who rides the Garuda with its wings fully stretched and carvings referring to Balinese carving style.</p>
Connotation	Tribute to international community
Myth	Indonesia is modern but still respect its traditional culture
Code	Semantics – Symbolic – Cultural
Representation	Harmonization of traditional culture with modernity

Group 3 – Inner Front Area: Garuda Pancasila, illustration of friendship	
Meaning	Description
Signifier	
Denotation	<p>Garuda Pancasila</p> <p>Illustration of the Indonesian and Canadian map, and compilation of Indonesian and Canadian people's faces using monochrome colour.</p> <p>Illustration of the map of Indonesian and Australia and illustration of the Australian tourist's experience in Bali using the style of Balinese traditional illustration – Kamasan with full colour.</p> <p>Illustration of the Europe continent and Indonesia using the style of illustration of old map with brownish monochrome colour.</p>
Connotation	<p>Identity and the philosophy of life of the Indonesian people.</p> <p>The people of Indonesia and Canada are equal in fostering friendship and cooperation.</p> <p>Indonesia and Australia enjoy a closeness and Bali is the bridge for the closeness of Indonesia and Australia</p>

	Cooperation between European and Indonesian people had long been established.
Myth	Indonesia is a country with people that are open, friendly and a country easy to work with, but strongly preserve their traditional culture and their five principles (Pancasila) as their guidance as a nation.
Code	Semantics – Symbolic – Narrative – Culture
Representation	Harmonisation of traditional culture with modernity.

Group 4 Inner Central Area: Borobudur, cultural diorama, mosaic of photos on culture, mosaic of photos on natural scenery	
Meaning	Description
Signifier	
Denotation	Borobudur in miniature, replica of Borobudur stupa with a size similar to the original and photos of a number of fragments taken from the reliefs in Borobudur Temple Traditional custom clothing from Java – Yogyakarta and a number of regions in Indonesia Map of Indonesia and photos of Indonesian culture and nature representing the provincial regions in Indonesia from Sumatera to Irian Jaya (From West to East). Compilation of photos on Indonesian tradition culture, natural scenery, various endemic flora and fauna of Indonesia
Connotation	Well-preserved constructions of the past heritage. Diversity of the Indonesia customs Cultural wealth of regional tradition, nature, flora and fauna of Indonesia
Myth	Indonesia is modern but still highly respect the ancestor's traditional culture and regional tradition wealth, and also preserve nature and environment.
Code	Semantics – Symbolic – Narrative – Culture
Representation	Harmonisation of traditional culture with modernity

Group 5 – Central Inner Area: Diorama of development, mosaic of photos on development, technology model	
Meaning	Description
Signifier	
Denotation	1a) Traditional mode of transportation (horse) carrying agriculture produces, farmers who are bearing their harvest, farmers who are beating kentongan, and traditional Papuan women

	with their noken, life-size with monochrome colour and rural atmosphere background; b) Industrial workers, big pipe network, women farmers/small traders, life-size with monochrome colour, photos on factories of transportation industry and the products, model of CN 235 airplane, and model of ship. Compilation of photos on factories and industrial products of Indonesia, compilation of photos on transportation industry of Indonesia in various regions Model of miniature of Palapa Satellite, CN 235 airplane, helicopter, ships, construction design of bridges and bridges to enter an airplane. Model of Palapa Satellite and Hanoman
Connotation	a) Lag of transportation and communication of Indonesia in the past; The ability of the Indonesian people to work on development toward an industrial society; b) The sophistication of Indonesia today's transportation technology; Development of Indonesia's technological industry. The advancement of the transportation technology of today's Indonesia that can reach thousands of islands in Indonesia The advancement of technology of Indonesia in communication, transportation, and engineering Tradition supports modernity
Myth	Development acceleration with the Indonesian people's power of creativity
Code	Semantics – Symbolic– Narrative – Cultural
Representation	Harmonisation of traditional culture with modernity

The reading of the texts included in the elements that build the pavilion is based on the pavilion documentation data, starting from its objective, theme, and storyline to zone. The analysis uses Entman's theory of framing by studying every element, finding the issues involved in order to find the dominant aspect from the pavilion, which allows to unfold what the New Order regime wanted to convey through such text. The following is the result of the analysis of the text of the pavilion's elements:

Table 2:
Highlighted Aspects on the Pavilion's Elements

Target	Theme	Storyline	Zone
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Activities of development Cultural wealth 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Transportation and communication technology Culture Tourism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Transportation and communication technology Development Indonesian Culture 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Development Culture Tourism

From the four elements mentioned above (Table 2), it can be concluded that there are some similarities in the aspects of projection, which are: 1) Development; 2) Cultural Wealth; 3) Tourism. Through the mechanism of framing which was presented at the World Expo event, the New Order administration exhibited a positive image before the eyes of the international world on the development activities, cultural wealth, and tourism in Indonesia.

INTERTEXTUAL RELATION

By way of the signification process of every displayed object, it can be concluded that the entire similar displayed objects at the three Indonesian pavilions (World Expo of 1986, 1988,

and 1999) represented the harmonization of tradition with modernity whereas the framing (the highlighted aspect) found in the elements of the pavilion include culture, tourism and development. From those three aspects, the cultural aspect was dominant because the entire group of the displayed objects represented this particular aspect. To have clearer explanation, see Table 3 and 4 below.

Table 3:
Group of Displayed Objects and Elements of Pavilion

Elements of Pavilion	Gr. 1	Gr. 2	Gr. 3	Gr. 4	Gr. 5
Culture	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Tourism		✓	✓	✓	✓
Development	✓		✓		✓

Description: Gr. 1 = Displayed Object of Toraja House, Gr. 2 = Banners; Balinese Umbrella; Garuda Wisnu; Gr. 3 = Garuda Pancasila; Illustration of friendship. Gr. 4 = Borobudur; Diorama on culture; Mosaic of Photos on Culture and Nature (Flora-Fauna). Gr. 5 = Diorama on development; Mosaic of photos on development; Models of technology.

Table 4:
Relation of Representation of the Displayed Objects and Elements of Pavilion

Signifier		Connotation	Myth	Representation	Elements of Pavilion
Gr. 1	Toraja House	Ancestor's wealth of tradition r	Modern Indonesia highly respect the traditional culture of their ancestor	Harmonization of traditional culture with modernity	Culture Development
	Fabricated modern construction	Development of modernity	Indonesia is a modern country		
Gr.2	Balinese banners	Tribute to the visitors of pavilion	Indonesia is a modern country but still highly uphold their cultural tradition	Harmonization of traditional culture with modernity	Culture Tourism
	Umbrella of Balinese Craft				
	Balinese Garuda				
Gr.3	Garuda Pancasila	State Identity, philosophy of live of the nation	Indonesia is an open, friendly and easy to work with country, but they keep preserving tradition and Pancasila	Harmonization of traditional culture with modernity	Development
	Illustration of map of Indonesian and other countries	Indonesian and the world community have closeness and have long been cooperating			Culture Tourism Development
Gr.4	Miniature of Borobudur's	Heritage is well preserved and	Indonesia is a modern country	Harmonization of traditional	Culture Tourism

	Stupa and fragments	can be enjoyed until present	but highly uphold and preserve their ancestor's traditional culture and regional wealth on tradition, and also preserve nature and environment	culture with modernity	
	Regional Clothing	Diversity of Indonesian custom			Culture Tourism
	Map of Indonesia Photos of the Culture of Indonesia	Diversity of Indonesian custom			Culture Tourism
	Photos on natural scenery, flora and fauna	Natural wealth, flora and fauna of Indonesia			Tourism
Gr.5	Diorama on development process	Indonesia towards industrial state	Acceleration of Development	Harmonisation of traditional culture and modernity	Develo-ment
	Photos on factories Photos on the results of transportation industry	Advancement of technology Modernity			Develop-ment Tourism
	Palapa Satellite Model, CN 235 airplane, helicopter, ship, and engineering of construction	Advancement of technology Modernity	Power of the Indonesian people's creativity		Develop-ment Culture

Indonesian pavilions in the New Order era have served as the communication media of the government at international level. Communication established in the exhibition room is certainly different from that of the other visual media such as books and posters. In a room, the displayed objects become the dominant text so it is easy to comprehend compared to other information. The displayed objects as text are able to represent a particular ideology. The selection of displayed objects to be shown at the Indonesian pavilion at World Expo has one direction message, it is direct with no interaction needed, in line with the main objective of communication established by the New Order administration, which is to convey the message of cultural wealth and the development of Indonesia. Selection and the repetition method is part of the mechanism used by the New Order administration to perpetuate the relation of symbolic domination in a subtle way.

The structure or the system of signification of the New Order era was impacted by the technical aspect of media, and also by the continuous message conveyance. The connotation of the utilization of the technical aspect found in the displayed objects are among others: 1) the group of objects of tradition like Toraja House, banners, umbrellas, Garuda Wisnu, Garuda Pancasila showing the important, dominant and respected position and as protector; 2) Group of current objects, like the process of development and the model of technology with the connotation of equivalence and engagement, which is also important due to its frequent appearance (repeatedly appear).

Through the signification of every displayed object, it can be concluded that the entire similar displayed objects at the pavilions of the three World Expos (1986, 1988, and 1999) represented the harmonization of tradition with modernity. In the other side, framing (the highlighted aspect) shown in the elements of the pavilion were culture, tourism, and development. From the three aspects, culture was the dominant aspect because all the groups of the displayed objects represented it.

TEXTUAL AND CONTEXTUAL RELATION

Analyzing the context of political, social-economic, cultural and technological condition in the New Order era and analysing the regulation underpinning every activity brought about by the government, which were REPELITA IV and V when those three Expo events took place, showed the emphasis or projection on the aspect that showed the framing implemented by the New Order shown below:

Table 5:
Highlighted Aspects on Context

Context-Situation	Context-Regulation
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National Stability • Accelerated Development • Cultural Wealth • Strategic Industries 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Well-distributed Development • Developing Tourism

From the above table (Table 5), the aspects of framing (the highlighted aspects) that can be seen in the context of pavilion were: 1) Development; 2) Cultural wealth; 3) Tourism. From those three aspects being projected by the New Order regime, cultural wealth was the dominant aspect because all the groups of displayed objects represented this particular aspect. To have clearer explanation, see the following tables (Table 6 and 7):

Table 6:
Groups of Displayed Objects and the Context of Situation of New Order

Context	Gr. 1	Gr. 2	Gr. 3	Gr. 4	Gr 5
Cultural Wealth	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Tourism	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Development			✓		✓

Description: Group 1 = Displayed Objects of Toraja House. Group 2 = Traditional banners; Umbrella of Bali Style; Garuda Wisnu. Group 3 – Garuda Pancasila = Illustration of Friendship. Group 4 = Borobudur; Culture Diorama; Photo Mosaic of Culture and Nature (Flora and Fauna). Group 5 = Culture Diorama; mosaic of photos on development; Model of technology.

Table 7:
 Relation of Representation of Displayed Objects and New Order's Situation Context

	Signifier	Connotation	Myth	Represent-ation	Context
Gr.1	Toraja House	Ancestor's wealth of traditions	Indonesia is modern but still highly respect the traditional culture of Indonesia	Harmoni-sation of traditional culture with modernity	Cultural wealth
	Modern-fabricated construction	Advancement of modernity	Modern Indonesia		Development
Gr.2	Balinese Banners	Paying respect to the visitors of the pavilion	Indonesia is modern but still highly respect the traditional culture of Indonesia	Harmoni-sation of traditional culture with modernity	Cultural Wealth Tourism
	Balinese Umbrella				
	Balinese Garuda				
Gr.3	Garuda Pancasila	State identity, state philosophy of life	Indonesia is an open, friendly and easy to work with country, but keep their tradition and Pancasila as guidelines of the nation's life	Harmonisation of traditional culture with modernity	Development
	Illustration of the map of Indonesia and other countries	Indonesia and the world community have close relationship and have been cooperating for a long time.			Cultural wealth Tourism Development
Gr.4	Miniature of Borobudur Stupa and fragments of Borobudur	Peninggalan masa lalu yang terpelihara dan dapat dinikmati pada masa kini	Indonesia is modern but still highly respect and preserve ancestor's traditional culture and regional traditional wealth and preserve nature and environment	Harmonisation of traditional culture with modernity	Cultural Wealth Tourism
	Ethnic clothing	Diversity of customs of Indonesia			Cultural Wealth Tourism
	Map of Indonesia Photos on Indonesian culture	Diversity of customs of Indonesia			Cultural Wealth Tourism
	Photos on natural scenery, flora and fauna	Natural wealth, flora and fauna of Indonesia			Tourism
Gr.5	Diorama on the development process	Indonesia towards industrial country	Development Acceleration	Harmoni-sation of traditional culture with modernity	Development
	Photos of	Advancement of			Development

	Industrial Products Photos of factories Photos of transportation mode	technology Modernity			
	Model of Palapa Satellite, CN 235 airplane, helicopter, ship and construction engineering	Advancement of technology Modernity	Indonesian people's power of creation		Cultural development

Overall the relation between representation of displayed objects, elements of pavilion, and situational context of the New Order era, is explained more clearly in the following table (Table 8).

Table 8:

Relation of Displayed Objects, Elements of Pavilion and Context of the New Order's Situation

Signifier		Representation of Displayed Objects	Elements of Pavilion	Context
Gr.1	Toraja House	Harmonization of traditional culture with modernity	Culture	Cultural Wealth
	Modern-fabricated construction		Development	Development
Gr.2	Traditional Banners of Bali	Harmonization of traditional culture with modernity	Culture Tourism	Wealth Culture Tourism
	Umbrella of Bali Style			
	Garuda Bali Garuda Bali			
Gr.3	Garuda Pancasila	Harmonization of traditional culture with modernity	Development	Development
	Illustration of the Map of Indonesia and other countries		Culture Tourism Development	Cultural Wealth Tourism Development
Gr.4	Miniature of Borobudur Stupa and fragments of Borobudur	Harmonization of traditional culture with modernity	Culture Tourism	Cultural Wealth Tourism
	Ethnic Clothing		Culture Tourism	Cultural Wealth Tourism
	Map of Indonesia Photos on Indonesian culture		Culture Tourism	Cultural Wealth Tourism
	Photos of natural scenery, flora and fauna		Tourism	Tourism

Gr. 5	Development process diorama	Harmonization of traditional culture with modernity	Development	Development
	Photos of the Industrial Products Photos of factories Photos of transportation modes		Development	Development
	Model of Palapa Satellite, Palapa Satellite Model with Hanoman figure, model of CN 235 airplane, helicopter, ship and construction engineering		Development Culture	Development Culture

The above table shows that there are similarities between the pavilion's text and the context of the situation of the New Order era. Given such similarities, we can conclude that the representation of the harmonization of traditional culture and modernity that was captured through the displayed objects of the Indonesian pavilion at World Expo was closely related to the concept of the New Order regime through text – the elements of pavilion and situation of the New Order, which was described through the aspect of projection on the issues of culture, tourism and development.

The relation of New Order's context of situation with the classification of the displayed objects of the pavilion showed how the New Order administration raises cultural situation to become the central issue of the Indonesian pavilion through the existence of cultural objects that dominate the pavilion. Through the signification of every displayed object, it can be concluded that the entire similar objects in the three pavilions of three World Expos (1986, 1988, and 1999) represent the harmonization of tradition with modernity, whereas the aspect to be highlighted in the pavilion context are cultural wealth, tourism and development. From those three highlighted aspects, cultural wealth was the dominant aspect as all the groups of displayed objects represented it.

The evidences of how this development of cultural tourism can be seen at the pavilion of World Expo through the displayed objects that were dominated by cultural and tourism themes. The process of development that was also exhibited also supported the activities of the cultural tourism. For the government of the New Order era, the events of World Expo, which was such huge event at international level, were the right place to showcase the activities related to Indonesia's cultural tourism to the world. The myths concerning modern Indonesia are having the power of creation to accelerate development but they still highly uphold and preserve their ancestor's cultural tradition, regional wealth of tradition, preserve nature and environment, because all those issues are repeatedly passed on and have become part of their belief that there exists harmonization of traditional culture with modernity.

RELATION OF REPRESENTATION AND IDEOLOGY

From this research it was found that there was a relational pattern between representation and ideology, which can be seen in the following scheme (figure 3).

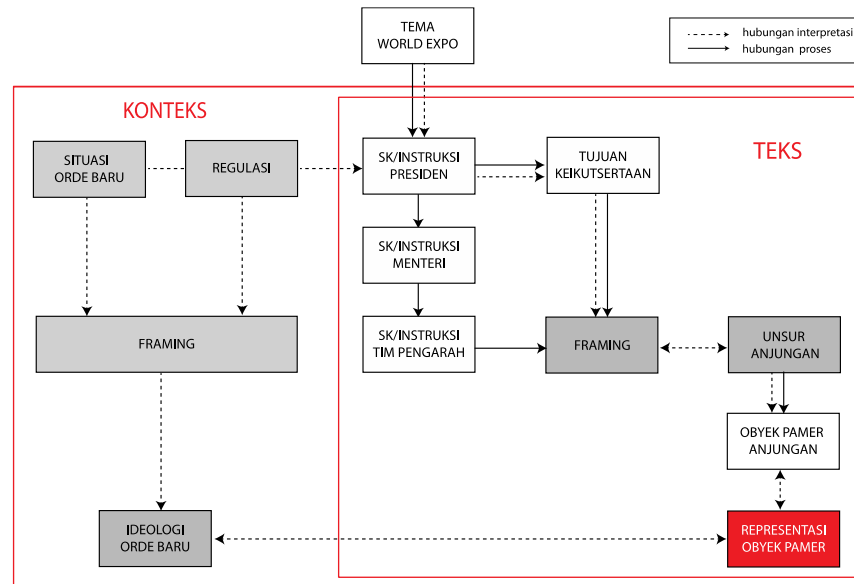


Figure 3:
 Relational Pattern of Displayed Objects Representation and New Order's Ideology
 (Tjahjawulan, 2016)

Context is the situation of Indonesia at the time the pavilion was built, in this case the situation of the New Order, where in this study covers the political, social economic, cultural and technology, including the regulation, which is the GBHN and REPELITA that manages the implementation of the programs of the government as a power to formulate certain concept. In this matter, the text can be classified as: 1) Text of the displayed objects with the meaning embedded in it. 2) Text, which is knowledge about the elements of the pavilion. Every thing to do with the management of pavilion, objective, theme of storyline, and the pavilion zone that will determine the form and the displayed objects in the pavilion. The relation of context and text that will represent the ideology show how the New Order administration conveying the ideology that Indonesia's modernization does not forgetting the root of the culture of tradition.

CONCLUSION

This conclusion is to answer the research question in Chapter 1 concerning the structure of sign and code system seen in the displayed objects of the Indonesian pavilion at World Expo, the process of myth and connotation operating at the level of system of signification on the displayed objects of Indonesian pavilion that establish representation of Indonesia in New Order era, and also on the presence of Indonesia at World Expo as construction of ideology of the New Order.

1. Pavilion of Indonesia at World Expo

Indonesian pavilion at World Expo in the New Order interpreted the theme of Expo offered by BIE by putting the emphasis on the aspect of humanity in “local culture” that is considered as a way to communicate universally in one international event. “Local culture” in Indonesian pavilion is shown through: 1) Depiction of the past relating to arts and culture in the form of display of historic artefacts, archaeological relics and its kind, and (2) Portrayal of present time in the form of display of traditional art and cultural products that are still preserved, the beauty of Indonesia’s nature and environment, which is still well preserved. Other than that, there is also description of the process of development and the latest technological achievements.

The objective of the participation of Indonesia in every Expo is always the same and always coming from the government by President Decree or President Instruction, which is as a vehicle to showcase the achievements of the New Order administration in the form of development activities and cultural wealth.

Shared objective of each Expo creates displayed objects that are sustained. The objects that always appear at every Expo are Toraja’s Tongkonan House, Banners, Garuda Wisnu, State symbol of ‘Pancasila’, illustration of friendship, Borobudur, diorama on development, mosaic of photos on culture, mosaic of the photos on nature (flora-fauna), mosaic of photos on development and model of technology. Accordingly, there is an agreement of signification passed down from Expo to another relating to the objects discussed above.

2. Sign Structure and Code System on the Displayed Objects

Structure and system of signification of the displayed objects in the New Order era is affected by the method of unceasingly communicating the same message communication (through displayed objects) and the technical aspect of media (how the displayed objects are positioned in the pavilion and its relation with other displayed objects).

Objects of cultural artefacts of the ancestor or traditional ceremony apparatus possess a cultural signification (meaning according to the cultural surroundings of the artefacts) with symbolic values such as purity and respect. Although these were used in the pavilion by maintaining their forms and features as close as possible to the originals, there had been a shift in the function that caused shift in their signification.

Connotation of the utilization of technical aspect shown on the displayed objects are: 1) Position of group of traditional objects like Toraja House, Balinese Banners, Balinese Umbrellas, Garuda Wisnu, Garuda Wisnu, Garuda Pancasila is always in the front, centre or on top, provides connotation on the important, dominant, respectful position or as protector; 2) Position of the Group of modern objects such as Diorama on Development, Mosaic Photos and model of technology is placed at the eye level, close and easy to see provides connotation of equality and engagement, but also becomes important due to its frequent appearances.

3. Process of Myth and Connotation Operating in the System of Signification

The connotation process, which then becomes myth and finally turns into ideology is the method used by the New Order’s political machine. The Indonesian people were not aware

that such process was a cultivation of meaning from the government and the Indonesian pavilion at World Expo becomes one of its machineries.

The relation of the New Order's context of situation with the classification of the displayed object of the pavilion shows how the New Order administration raises the cultural situation in its time becomes the central issue of the Indonesian pavilion through the existence of the displayed objects of culture that dominate the pavilion.

By continuously displaying the similar objects from time to time in the pavilion at World Expo the process of symbolic repetition took place, which sooner or later would result in symbolic domination. The more frequent the objects of culture are displayed, the stronger the myth would deeply embedded in people's mind believing that the New Order administration had implemented modernisation without failing to recall their traditional cultural root. Automatically, the people users of the system of signification would trust the administration more.

From the analysis of the system of signification implemented by the pavilion, it is revealed that the objects that are exhibited provides representation of tradition and modernity, which sees traditional cultural wealth as the *crème de la crème* of the Indonesian culture, always presented as something that has relation with the present or with the achievements of the development of the New Order. Palapa Satellite that signifies modernity and Hanoman that is believes as a mythological figure having speedy flight as fast as that of thinking, discloses that the technological achievements of the present time cannot be separated from traditional culture of the past.

By way of the signification of every displayed object, it can be concluded that the entire similar displayed objects at the three pavilions at World Expo of 1986, 1988 and 1999) represent harmonisation of tradition with modernity. Meanwhile framing (the highlighted aspect) aspects that are revealed in the context of the pavilion are cultural wealth, tourism and development. Of the three aspects being highlighted by the New Order administration, cultural wealth is the dominant aspect because it is represented by the whole collection of the group of displayed objects.

Representation of the harmony of traditional culture with modernity as one of the systems of New Order's image shaping, which is not just intended for the external audience – international community, but also to internal audience – the Indonesian community, to remind that the New Order administration does not just put the social-economic development, but also the cultural issues.

4. Construction of New Order's Ideology through the Displayed Objects of Pavilion

In the New Order era almost all media systematically developed a construction of image of the President Soeharto as 'the Father of Development of Indonesia', who is praised for his success in Indonesian development and he leads Indonesia to become prosperous state – success in self-sufficiency in food. For that reason this new Order is known as the 'Development Order'.

The international exhibition, which is actually intended for the international community, cannot escape from the construction of the image of the New Order regime. The visual aspect and relation of signifiers under the New Order regime builds an image that the Order has put the Indonesian development first. It's not just the physical development but also the cultural development.

New Order administration believes in the concept of representation of every sector/region. This concept of regional representation is promoted as cultural diversity. Cultural diversity, which is established by the government, is materialized in a unique presentation coming from the 27 provinces through dioramas on traditional clothes and map of Indonesia with regional icons and mosaic of photos on culture. Culture is also linked to the tourism by presenting locations of tourism destination, which the government trusts, can serve as a good image of Indonesia in the international eyes. Through the displayed object of mosaic of photos, the government depicts cultural wealth, natural beauty, and the infrastructure of the best tourism in Indonesia.

The message of development delivered by the New Order administration by means of the factual evidences of the development results so that the New Order would be remembered as Development Order. As 'Development Order', the government presented displayed objects that communicate the process, activities, and physical results of development brought about by Indonesia. By way of a diorama on the development process, mosaic of photos on development and industrial activities, and models of technology like Palapa Satellite, airplanes manufactured by PT Nurtanio, and engineering of construction design, the message to be passed on was about the acceleration of development taken place in Indonesia, and how Indonesia had transformed from agrarian state into industrial state.

The objects that were frequently emerged in the Indonesian pavilion were part of the construction of signifier on the state identity established by the New Order administration. The myths that were embedded through the pavilion's displayed objects were the narrative of modern Indonesia, having the power of creativity to accelerate development but still highly uphold and preserve the ancestor's traditional cultural, regional wealth of tradition, preserving nature and environment. Such myths were conveyed multiple times so that they are shaped into a belief that there exists harmonisation of traditional culture with the modernity of Indonesia.

Accordingly, it can be concluded that: New Order administration that always underpinned its modernity achievements (in terms of technology and physical development) with concepts, objects and beliefs and regional culture (Indonesian Archipelago), implicates that those achievements are the result of the process rooted in the culture in the archipelago (Nusantara).

When we look further, behind it there was a particular interest of the New Order administration that make use of culture as a vehicle or mechanism showing the interest in culture. Although the New Order administration did physical development and advancement in technology, they continued to base the concepts of development on the *crème de la crème* regional and archipelagic culture. Such process can be seen as an ideological process because the New Order administration had made serious efforts for about 30 years on that perspective to become part of the perspective of the people in general.

Even after that, the process of spreading such perspective was "inadvertently passed down" to the regions, not through regulation of the central government anymore, but through artistic considerations that is in line with the New Order's perspective, and voluntarily was applied by the regional government when they give directions on visual communication for exhibitions at national level. For example, 'Development Exhibition', 'Jakarta Fair', and other exhibitions of which the participants were the provinces in Indonesia. They usually would represent their identity, the advancement of their economic and cultural development, and once again they would present the forms of culture referring to the things considered as the *crème de*

la crème of culture formulated by the central government, where every provincial region would display the icons that were considered as the representatives, for example ‘Joglo’ house replica in the pavilion of Central Java, ‘Ondel-ondel’ in the pavilion of the Jakarta province, “Gadang” House in the pavilion of West Sumatera, or statue of the Asmat tribe in Irian Jaya province despite the fact that Irian is not just Asmat, there are so many other tribes.

There was a practical goal behind the image of harmony and modernity, which is the desire to sell Indonesia through cultural tourism to attract as many as possible foreign tourists to Indonesia. At the end of the day, the economic interest remains the main interest, which is the hidden agenda of the government.

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